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## Alibi

The Department of Justice has at last spoken.

It has said in effect that if the espionage act had gone into force the day the United States declared war, instead of two months later, the government would have been compelled to prosecute William Randolph Hearst.

A. Bruce Bielaski, chief until a week ago of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice and the man chosen by the Attorney General to present to Senator Overman's committee the history of German propaganda in America, after testifying on Monday that Hearst was "very active in his paper in behalf of the German government" prior to our declaration of war, said:

"After war was declared his attitude continued to be very questionable. Many of the publications which he printed, or which were printed in his papers after we went into war, if printed later on, after the espionage act, especially as it was amended and became a law, would have subjected him to prosecution."

It is much the same excuse that Postmaster General Burleson gave for failing to bar Hearst newspapers from the mails.

How does it square with the facts of Hearst's propaganda?

Hearst's propaganda falls into about five lines of attack, to wit:

*I. General emphasis on the horrors of the war, on America's lack of enthusiasm to enter it, and on its remote character as a "European quarrel."*

*II. Efforts to keep America's men, money and food at home.*

*III. Efforts to distract our attention from the war by emphasizing the need of intervention in Mexico and picturing the "threat" of Japan.*

*IV. Attacks on our allies, England and Japan.*

*V. Attempts to bring about peace, based on a campaign of defeatism, and proposals to return to the status quo ante.*

The first of these lines of propaganda continued long after the passage of the espionage act, on June 15, 1917. It need not be maintained, however, that this would have had more than a contributory or motivating share in the case for prosecution.

The effort to keep the country's men, money and food at home "for defence" and to meet attacks over here from Germany, Japan and Mexico was most frankly outspoken between April 6, 1917, and June 15, 1917. But it continued in thoroughly recognizable form long after the latter date.

The attack on loans to our allies was continued even after those loans were largely consummated.

On June 18, 1917, *after the passage of the espionage act*, Hearst's *Deutsches Journal*, in a cartoon called "The Lion's Share," showed Columbia, standing at a window with the signboard "War Loans To Be Had Here" and pouring her savings into the hat of the "Uncle of the Entire World," while the British lion caught in the British crown the gold falling through the holes in Uncle Sam's hat. The hats of the other allies were being filled also, and the horned figure of "Greed" was shown saying: "Now there will soon be no more poor devils."

On June 29, 1917, *after the passage of the espionage act*, a cartoon in *The American*, called "The Reckoning," showed Uncle Sam paying the bill of the war after his stay in the "Hotel Europe" and tipping the butler, England; the chef, France; the porter, Russia; the maid, Italy, and the bellboy, Serbia.

On July 2, *after the passage of the espionage act*, a cartoon in the same paper, called "The American Beauty," pictured a bee, with wings made of the flags of England, France, Italy and Russia, about to alight upon the money bags in the centre of a star-spangled and red and white striped rose.

After June 15, 1917, the effort to keep men at home took many forms.

From May 4, 1917, to December 14, 1917, Hearst attacked the "alien slackers," preferably British, and declared that until they had all been placed on the Western front no American soldiers should be sacrificed. The editorial of June 16, 1917—*after the passage of the espionage act*—is typical:

"We will send our boys to fight for England only when England has rallied all her own . . . it is neither necessary nor right that the flower of our young American manhood should be sent as a sacrificial offering to the Red Moloch of slaughter while England has men enough to fight her own battles for many months ahead."

On June 29, 1917—*after the passage of the espionage act*—Hearst, with his long record in favor of universal military service, came out for sending only volunteers to Europe, saying:

"Further service in the war should be a matter of choice for Americans.

"These papers have said consistently, and will continue to maintain, that the American soldiers who go to Europe should go as volunteers, and not as conscripted men sent by the will of the government . . .

"We believe that in the magnificent contribution our country has already made to the battlefields of the Western front of Europe, it has given ALL THAT THE NECESSITIES OF OUR ALLIES OR THE SAFETY OF OUR OWN COUNTRY AT THIS TIME JUSTIFIES IT IN GIVING."

Hearst used the bogie of Japan steadily from the beginning of war till as late as March, 1918. On June 26, 1917, *after the passage of the espionage act*, he used it as a deliberate reason for going easy on the Western front. *The American* of that date indorsed editorially the following remarks of a writer called "Americanus":

" . . . we may have to wage the war alone against Germany, or against Germany and Russia, or against such a tremendous combination as Germany and Russia and Japan . . . the United States should be PREPARED to fight alone and to make effective war against one or any number of enemies. We cannot be prepared at home if we send all our food and all our men and all our money and all our munitions abroad."

Hearst's attitude toward Japan touched the issue of loyalty in two ways. It not alone tended to obstruct complete and effective action against Germany, but it came also within the category of writings banned by Burleson and prosecuted by the Department of Justice, namely, attacks on our allies.

The attacks are many. Here are three as late as the present year, *since the passage of the espionage act*:

January 5, 1918: "We do not know whether there is a danger of the Japanese joining with Germany, which makes our government so considerate of Japan."

March 4, 1918: "We are marked for attack because we are in conflict with the Japanese financially and commercially and in contrast with them politically and socially. . . . Any day the opening gun of the only important, the only vital war of the world . . . may be fired."

March 8, 1918: "If Great Britain cannot restrain her special ally from acts of aggression inimical to our interest, we can remove our troops from Europe and transfer them to Asia."

Similarly Hearst attacked England *after the passage of the espionage act*. By misrepresentation he pictured England as using the United States to pull the chestnuts of world dominion out of the fire and as attempting to confine our shipbuilding energies to short-lived wooden ships while she built only steel.

A noteworthy example of the first occurred on July 5, 1917—*after the passage of the espionage act*—when *The American* falsely represented Lloyd George as having declared for English dominion in Mesopotamia and Palestine, as well as the German colonies, as follows:

"Her colonial empire, already too vast for the safety of other nations, is to be hugely increased. . . . It is intolerable that England, after having been saved from defeat and imminent disaster by the sacrifices of Russia and France and of the United States, should presume to dictate the duration of the war, to gobble up in her own interests all the territory lost to Germany, to seize the commercial domination of the seas, and in every quarter of the globe to take to herself the fruits of victory which she could not achieve for herself."

The attack on England over the wooden ship question ran into many editorials, but these passages from June 18, 1917—*after the passage of the espionage act*—cover the case:

"The English government and the English press were enthusiastically in favor of America building a great and costly fleet of small wooden ships for England's benefit during the war, but you must have noticed that England was not building any wooden ships herself. . . .

"We were to feed and supply England by constructing WOODEN SHIPS that could only go to the scrapheap after the war, while England uses our American yards to build STEEL SHIPS with which to keep us out of our fair share of the world's trade after we had won the war for England and saved her from defeat at the hands of Germany."

The misrepresentation is as plain as the animus. For England never asked us to build wooden vessels. Instead, she built wooden vessels herself, and even requested our Shipping Board not to interfere with her own wooden ship construction by the letting of our contracts.

From June 15, 1917, onward, in more or less close contemporary conjunction with Germany's peace drives, Hearst advocated peace by negotiation on a basis of the *status quo ante*, and sowed the seed for it in "defeatist" propaganda. Here are a few specimens:

July 5, 1917—*after the passage of the espionage act*: "We can imagine no statesmanship more futile than for us to exhaust our wealth, to endanger our prosperity and to sacrifice our young men, not to equalize the political relations of the world, but to pull down one power on the ground that it aims at dangerous domination of the world, and then to place another power in the same seat of world empire and world dominion. . . . The sensible course for us to pursue is to use our influence and our strength to maintain . . . the European balance of power."

July 24, 1917—*after the passage of the espionage act*: . . . "the President should declare and adhere to a war programme and a peace programme which contemplate no conquest, no annexation of territory by the Allies, no indemnities; only a return to the *status quo ante*."

July 27, 1917—*after the passage of the espionage act*: "Is it not better to make peace now than to look forward to year after year of such national and individual sorrow and sacrifice, to such wastage and woe, to such destruction of the best specimens of the human race, to such irretrievable demolition of the sustaining structure of our Occidental civilization? How long will our people tolerate such slaughter and such sacrifice?"

July 28, 1917—*after the passage of the espionage act*: "The attitude of the Hearst newspapers is vindicated in a striking manner by the report of our army officers who have just come from France. . . . The plain truth is that, without the intervention of some unknown mechanical invention, the Allies cannot conquer Germany with the means at their disposal and with such reinforcements as we can promptly send them, and may be defeated and brought to sue for a humiliating peace." . . .

August 8, 1917—*after the passage of the espionage act*: "The lesson is briefly this: First, the necessity of realizing the seriousness of the military situation, and, second, the necessity of either negotiating a prompt peace with advantage to our allies and honor to ourselves, or of prosecuting a protracted war with PREPARATION FOR THE DEFENCE OF OUR HOMES AND OUR LIBERTIES ON A GREATER SCALE THAN THE WORLD HAS EVER SEEN."

Through August and September of last year the Hearst fight for peace continued, following the peace offensive of Germany. In January and February of this year it developed once more, as President Wilson gave the German overtures the answer of the "Fourteen Points" and the "Four Principles."

Ignoring an attempt in February of this year to lift the embargo against the neutrals which prevented food reaching Germany, it may be as well to close the record of Hearst's disloyal propaganda *after the passage of the espionage act* with his discovery, on January 28, 1918, that Germany was a democracy and the war was won:

"In a true sense, the great war for human freedom is won. . . . Whether the governments find a way to negotiate right soon, in our judgment, will not materially affect the great result for which the war was waged, by America at least. That objective was the democratization of the whole world."

This comports interestingly with Hearst's anti-Japanese editorial of March 8, 1918, in which he said, over his own signature:

"That is why I cannot get so violently excited as some people over the possible effects in Europe of this present war."

A correspondent of *The Times* interviewed Hearst at Baltimore Tuesday night on the Senatorial investigation, and he said: "In the end I may let it pass."

## The B. R. T. Wreck

The B. R. T. tunnel wreck, with its terrible loss of life, seems to have been an inexcusable accident. The investigation of it has been unfortunately theatrical. The whole procedure has been such as to detract from the weight of the findings of the committing magistrate.

The public will therefore have to continue waiting in such patience as it can muster. The Tribune believes that criminal actions should seek out those responsible and punish them. The machinery of the law, having been diverted from its natural use to celebrate an individual's fame, must first resume its normal functions. The grand jury must act. There must be trials in due course and in due order. The people of Brooklyn, incensed as they are, wish only justice. That they must have, and that, we are confident, they will get, despite some distracting spectacles on the way.

## Men and Tigers

It is a pleasure to have a magistrate with a taste for such diverse activities as natural history, the stage and monogamy. For Magistrate McAdoo and his judicial opinion upon "Tiger, Tiger" our thanks.

But we think he betrays a rather astonishing naïveté in his reflections in behalf of tigers and against the males of the play before him. The wisest philosophers long since transferred their allegiance to animals and dismissed mere man as a sad and wicked mess. "The more I see of men the better I like dogs," was the opinion of no less important a pragmatist than Mark Twain (if it was Mark Twain). All the researches of dramatists, novelists, psychologists confirm this view. Any novel by any leading British novelist contains matter that would make the wildest tiger blush to the tips of his whiskers. As for Freud, no whole menagerie contains the outrageous symbolism and desires expressed in any human's dreams for a night.

There is suggested a fair parallel. Man is a whole menagerie of appetites and hates and passions. Each of us has a little of the man-eating tiger in his soul; at times the best of us will wriggle like a snake; before certain dishes every one is as the pig. Each animal has his pet vice. All lack man's versatility. "Tiger, Tiger," as it happens, is a false metaphor—or the wrong complex, to bow to the psycho-analysts—for it accuses the wrong animal.

But it is man's distinction as a sinner to hold within one skin all the vices, awake or sleeping, of all the jungle. Some say he contains all the virtues, too. But that is another story. By the side of jungle simplicity he is a sure enough den of iniquity and maze of passions.

## A New Offensive

*(From The Indianapolis Star)*

Our War Department bought 119,000,000 pieces of soap for shipment overseas in the last six months, which sounds as if we are preparing to get into contact with the Bolsheviki.

## SHOES & SHIPS & SEALING WAX

### SONG OF THE SHRAPNEL SHELL

SPAT red hot from the cannon's mouth,
Yo, ho, ho, and away we go!
From East to West, and from North to South,
Yo, ho, ho, and away we go!
Men and the devil have done their best
To put their hearts in the cannon's breast—
Our masters drive, and we do the rest;
Hellfire within us to let loose first,
In a myriad burning bits we burst,
Each for the blood of a man athirst,
Yo, ho, ho, and away we go!

Like a fiery flail is our molten rain,
Yo, ho, ho, and away we go!
Mowing men down like a field of grain,
Yo, ho, ho, and away we go!
Night turns to day in its crimson glare,
It tints white cheeks and glazed eyes that stare
Upward, unseeing nor foul nor fair.
It rends the lace from the marble tower
And crushes to atoms the stained glass flower,
The ages' blossoms, all dead in an hour!
Yo, ho, ho, and away we go!

Some of us burrow beneath the mire,
Yo, ho, ho, and away we go!
To cool in the dark our bosom's fire,
Yo, ho, ho, and away we go!
'Mongst the friendly roots beyond the ken
Of human fiends and inhuman men—
But Fate sleeps not, and we waken again—
The touch of a plough, or a starved pig's snout
And up we flare and are about
Their butcher business, and murder is out!
Yo, ho, ho, and away we go!

ISABEL VALLE.

* * *

*Liebknecht, the German Bolshevist, says he is against peace, and if he keeps on he's going to find the Allies in entire accord with him on that point.*

* * *

**The Great Cornsilk Controversy**

F. F. V.—Not being possessed of an asbestos tongue, I can lay no claim to a consumption of cornsilk extending over a period of forty or fifty years. But, nevertheless, I believe that I have valuable information that will throw light on the present controversy.

According to New England usages, when I was a boy the difference between a cigar and a cigarette was one of size, the matter of a paper wrapper having nothing to do with the name. A big "smoke" was a cigar, whereas a little smoke was a cigarette.

Thus, a piece of rattan obtained from the butt end of a whip was a cigar, but a piece of rattan obtained from the part near the tip was a cigarette. And a large amount of sweetfern rolled in paper was a cigar, a small amount of sweetfern rolled in paper was a cigarette.

While on the subject of rattan I wish to recommend this material as a tongue burner par excellence. H. A. K.

Springfield, Mass.

F. F. V.—Coming as I do from that section of the North Country where pine stumps are the chief agricultural products, I'm hardly competent to enter the Great Corn Silk Controversy.

But did you ever stack up against a piece of the rattan from a discarded baby carriage? There was a smoke! And one could prove it was just the same as a real tobacco cigarette by blowing a mouthful of smoke through a white handkerchief—always providing there was some dude present who wore a white handkerchief—and showing the yellow stain which we firmly believed was pure nicotine.

And, besides, no one knows anything about youthful smokes who hasn't scraped the red bark from the kinnikinick bush and dried it in front of an open fire or rolled a "cig" from the dried seeds of the ragweed and a piece of newspaper.

CAPTAIN C.
Port of Embarkation.

* * *

Revolution is the broaching of the wine of freedom, and Bolshevism is the ensuing delirium tremens.

* * *

**THE COWARD**

He was known as the village coward,
The man with a yellow streak;
Some o' them called him a "sissy,"
Others dubbed him a sneak.
He was nervous in his manner,
And he started when you spoke.
To all the village hangers on
He was nothing but a joke.
But when the Great War started,
Do you think this modest kid
Begged to be exempted?
(You bet your life he did.)

LESTER AMB.

* * *

*The Mayor has offered Foch the freedom of the city, and we'd always understood that it belonged to Charley Murphy.*

F. F. V.

## The Realities

*New York Tribune Foreign Press Bureau*

"L'Europe Nouvelle," a Parisian weekly, radical, sometimes audacious, prints in its gossip column the following imaginary conversation:

"Well, he is coming."

"Who?"

"President Wilson."

"Is it certain?"

"Without doubt."

"What route will he take?"

"By England."

"Ah! So! Decidedly, those English are clever."

"Why? Do you think it ignificant that he comes by England?"

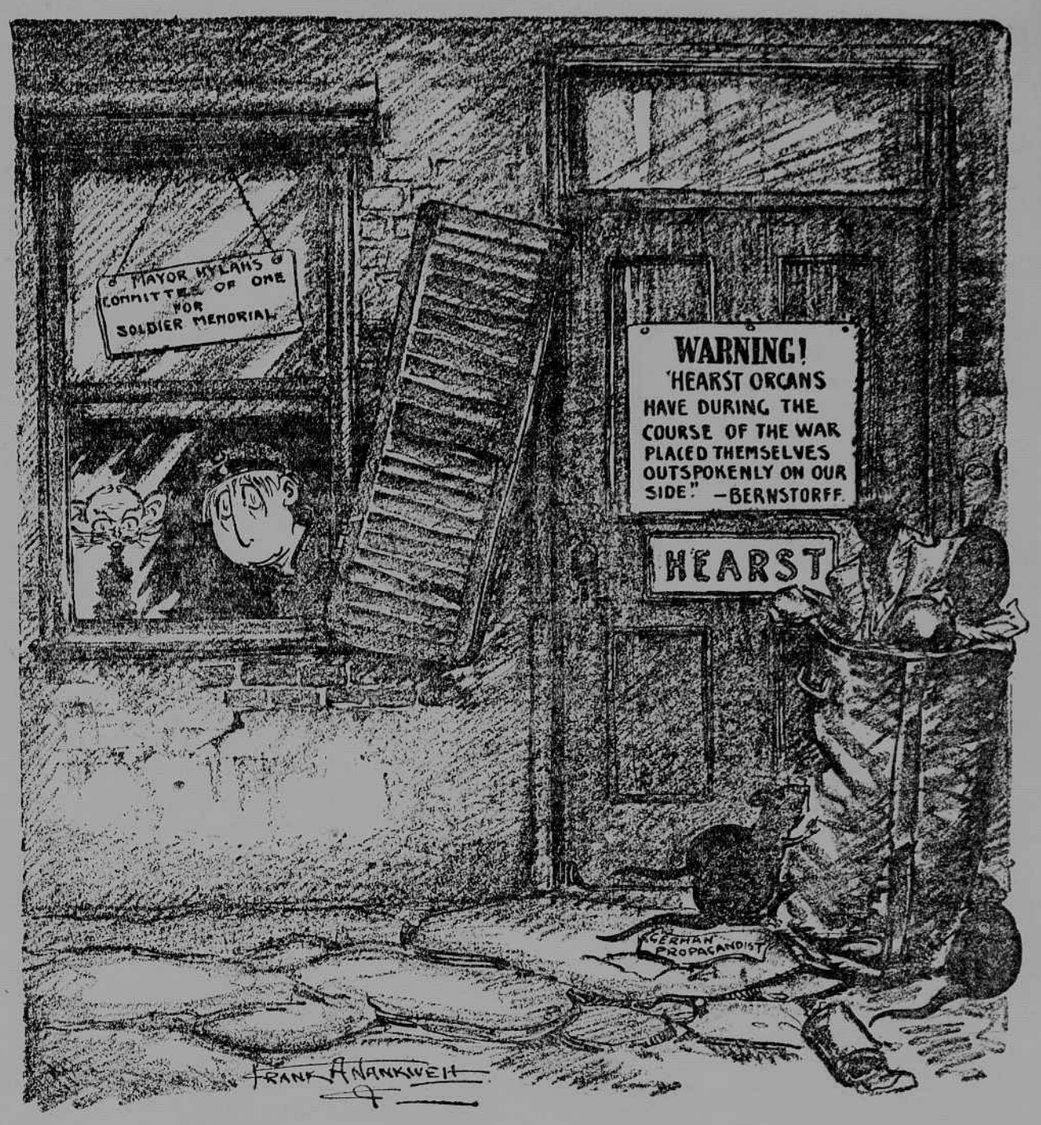
"I think our friends across the Channel are as practical now as they were before the war. They talk little, but well. They let no opportunity escape, and this one less than any other."

"And that makes you anxious?"

"On the contrary, what can result from the meeting of two men, one the Knight of the Ideal, the other expert in seeing life as it is, if not good? Wilson has his principles, which are excellent; the Foreign Office knows its Europe. Believe me, there will certainly be some conversations brief but fecund. What is diplomacy if it is not the art of adapting principles to the reality?"

"Satisfactory."

## CONDEMNED BY PUBLIC OPINION




# The German Colonies

By Frank H. Simonds

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UNMISTAKABLE propaganda now coming from all quarters in Germany discloses the expected attempt to divide the victors on the question of the ultimate disposition of the German colonies. It is to America, too, that the Germans are looking in the matter of the colonies, as well as in the question of "the freedom of the seas," for the initiative in a move which shall split the nations which have won this war.

It is, therefore, of utmost importance that the American people should understand the question of the German colonies. The obvious German manœuvre will be to establish the idea that the single question involved is one of territorial expansion. It is already being artfully insinuated that the British are preparing to "grab" German colonies with no other intent than to increase their empire and enlarge their commercial markets.

Now, what are the facts? First of all, the decision of the British in the matter of the colonies will not be made by the inhabitants of the United Kingdom; the problem is imperial, not European. And in this connection we have reported this week the demand of New South Wales, following that of New Zealand, that the German colonies shall not be returned. Prime Minister Hughes of Australia when in this country last summer spoke with great emphasis in the same sense; the will of the Union of South Africa has been made clear and is the same.

Now, Britain has won this war in no small measure because of the support of her colonies. She cannot by sheer force compel a restoration of German colonies to Germany in the face of the opposition of her own colonies without the gravest consequences. In point of fact, the Pacific islands of Germany were taken by Australian and New Zealand troops, who occupy them, and the conquest of German Southwest Africa was mainly a South African enterprise.

And to understand the attitude of the British colonies it is useful for Americans to go back in American history to the time of the victory of Britain, with the very great aid of the American colonies, over France, which culminated in the capture of Quebec. At that time the suggestion of a return of Canada to France would have precipitated a revolution in the Thirteen Colonies, and for the simple reason that it would have meant a perpetuation of the condition of warfare in America.

It was not that New England or New York was primarily interested in the annexation of Canada; what concerned them both was the imperative need for peace on their frontiers, for an end of Indian raids, border warfare and incessant attacks by an enemy whose forces assailed American colonies whenever European differences brought France and Britain into conflict. New England and New York sent their militia to the struggle against Canada to end a nuisance and a peril which had troubled them over many decades.

Now, the position of the Union of South Africa, for example, is exactly that of the Thirteen Colonies, save as the situation in Africa is far worse. German Southwest Africa was not merely the base for an invasion of British South Africa in the present war; it was also a centre from which rebellion against Britain was fomented before the war. It was to abolish not merely the immediate but all future peril of the sort which had been experienced in the De Wet rebellion that Botha and Smuts led Boer as well as British troops into German territory.

Southwest Africa having been conquered and the peril abolished, the British colony is resolved that it shall not return. If Germany comes back to her old colony it means a permanent menace and a permanent necessity to maintain an army. It means, in addition, the possible danger of the old intrigue and the certain peril of an interruption of communication with Britain in case of another war, since the German colony faces the sea route from the mother country and offers an admirable submarine base. And what is true of German Southwest Africa is in the main to be said of German East Africa.

Exactly the same emotion is revealed by the people of Australia and New Zealand. To return New Guinea and Samoa to the Germans would be to restore to them bases for future naval aggressions. Had the Germans developed their submarine plans before the war as they did subsequently, had they been able to station submarines in naval bases at Samoa and New Guinea, all the British sea routes in the Far East would have been cut, and the results would have been disastrous. Neither Australia nor New Zealand wishes in the future to have to maintain a navy against a new German attack; they desire the danger which has been abolished to remain abolished, and their purpose in the Peace Conference is unmistakable.

There are other aspects to the problem. On the humanitarian side the story of German colonization is one of the blackest in all history; the deliberate extermination of all but a handful of the Herrero people in Southwest Africa is a page of brutality passing even the Belgian and Polish episodes in the war. To turn back helpless people to cruel and vicious masters would be a crime against the principles championed by the Allies.

It is not a British scheme of expansion, then, this purpose not to return German colonies. It is a matter in which British policy is not made in London, but in Cape Town, Sydney and Melbourne. It is a colonial, not a metropolitan policy.

But if the Germans were able to gain American support for their desire to reclaim their lost colonies they would not only divide Britain and America at Versailles, but, were they successful in attaining their object, they would divide Britain from her colonies and succeed at the peace table in doing exactly what they failed to do during the war. There is, then, every reason to watch this latest manœuvre.

## The Highwayman Within

*(From The Kansas City Star)*

The threatened hotel workers' strike in New York involves only waiters, cooks and storeroom help. You never hear of a checkroom employe walking off his job, except to retire to a mansion on Riverside Drive, or else to the hospital when some ruined patron attacks him.

## Naval Comradeship

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I am sure the following letters, exchanged between Admiral Sims and Sir Rosslyn Wemyss, will prove of interest to your readers. These were printed in the English papers that reached here by the last mail. G. A.

New York, Dec. 9, 1918.

30 Grosvenor Gardens, S. W., Nov. 11.

My Dear Admiral:

To-day marks the practical termination of the war which for four years has been waged against the Central Empires, a war which was brought on by the ambitions of Germany, and largely by the desire to curb and crush the power of the British Empire.

It is a fact patent to all the world that the defeat of Germany was in large part accomplished by the power of the British navy, and I wish, in this informal way, to express to you, and through you to the officers and men of the British navy, my personal feeling of satisfaction that the British navy has successfully achieved its great task. In thus expressing my own opinion I am voicing the sentiment of all of the officers and men of my command, all of whom to the last man feel it an honor to have been associated with the British navy in this great war and to have contributed in some degree to its success.

Believe me, my dear admiral, yours most sincerely, WM. S. SIMS.

Admiralty, S. W., Nov. 16.

My Dear Admiral:

I thank you most sincerely for the very handsome terms in which you have expressed the sentiments of yourself and the officers and men of your command regarding the task of the British navy in the great war now, as we all hope, practically terminated.

We recognize with feelings of gratitude the debt we owe to the United States navy for its whole-hearted support during the past eighteen months, not only in the anti-submarine campaign and extensive mine-laying programme, but also in sending its battle squadron to reinforce the Grand Fleet.

We do not forget that your destroyers came to our assistance at a moment when our small craft were feeling the severe strain of three years' continuous warfare; we admire the singleness of purpose which has actuated your every effort, and appreciate to the full the loyal way in which you have worked with us throughout.

The close coöperation between our two services has, I venture to think, been one of the outstanding features of the war, and I sincerely hope that this association has been as agreeable to all of you as it has been to us. Future generations in both navies will always remember that their predecessors stood shoulder to shoulder during these momentous times to uphold the cause of right and justice.

I have had your letter circulated to the fleet, by whom it will be read with genuine pleasure.

Believe me to be, my dear admiral, with gratitude, yours very sincerely and cordially,

R. E. WEMYSS.

## They Are Declining

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: After the record you long since established in regard to the help Hearst has constantly given the Huns and the recent confirmatory exposures along the same line, the country is watching to see whether reputable New Yorkers will demean themselves by acting on the committee to welcome our soldiers, of which Hylan has made him chairman. It doesn't seem possible. Why should not honorable and respectable citizens decline and form their own committee? VETERAN.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 7, 1918.